





WITH THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF:



# Reimagining Global Economic Governance: African and Global Perspectives

# June 19-21, 2024

**Date:** June 19-21, 2024

**Location:** South African Institute of International Affairs,

Jan Smuts House, Wits University Johannesburg, 2017, South Africa

**Lodging:** Southern Sun Rosebank

Corner of Tyrwitt and Sturdee Ave

Rosebank, Johannesburg, 2131, South Africa

**Dress Code:** Business Casual

Contact: Angela Nguyen (angela.nguyen@ceip.org)

We're looking forward to your participation in the conference on Reimagining Global Economic Governance: African and Global Perspectives. In advance of that event, we wanted to expand on the rationale for this gathering and the questions that we hope to address in the specific conference sessions.

This conference is made possible by a generous Hewlett Foundation grant to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to support a transnational research effort and global dialogue on the institutional preconditions for a more inclusive, equitable, sustainable, and resilient world economy. The intent is to foster a new narrative for global economic governance, accompanied by tangible policy reforms. Carnegie is pleased to co-host this particular event with the South African Institute for International Affairs.

Around the world, many citizens and governments have become disillusioned with the neoliberal policies of Washington Consensus-era global governance. They are seeking greater autonomy and flexibility to advance nationally defined preferences, ranging from social welfare objectives to industrial policies, ecological goals, national security priorities, and development imperatives. This disillusionment with global economic governance is felt particularly acutely within low- and middle-income and formerly colonized countries, including in Africa. Demand is growing for more representative and equitable global institutions that are capable of managing the risks and opportunities of interdependence—such as accelerating climate change and rapid technological innovation.

The purpose of this meeting is to craft a new narrative and consider a new institutional framework for global economic governance that is better tailored to the current moment.

Guided by perspectives from throughout Africa and the world, we hope to identify the desirable core principles of such an order and consider how to inject these principles into ongoing policy debates to help promote a world economy that is more equitable, inclusive, resilient, and sustainable.

Across seven sessions and keynote dinner and lunch discussions, we will discuss debates ongoing in Africa about the legacy of the neoliberal model; the challenges to economic governance that emerge from climate change and the energy transition; the role of cities in global economic governance; multilateral cooperation towards combatting illicit financial flows; the challenges of international migration management; the role of access to the internet in global economic development; African priorities for reform of global economic governance; and efforts to move the global economy beyond Western hegemony.

For each of the sessions, we have provided a set of guiding questions to focus discussion, as outlined below. We have asked 1-2 speakers from our group to begin each session by providing brief framing remarks, to give context for the broader discussion. We will then turn to a moderated, free-flowing conversation on the topic, sharing our various perspectives and seeking to drive toward policy-relevant conclusions, where possible.

In terms of outputs from this conference, our objectives are two-fold. The first is to identify analytical and policy gaps that we can help to fill with new thinking and writing. The second is to identify influencing opportunities that might allow us to bring this transformational thinking to bear on real-world debates and decisions regarding the future of the international political economy.

Please note that the whole meeting will be conducted under the Chatham House rule.

Finally, we have scheduled two informal and hopefully entertaining activities as a reward for all your hard work. On Thursday evening, we will be having dinner at the Clico Boutique Hotel, and on Friday afternoon (after an optional lunch) we invite you to join us from 3:00-5:00 PM for a wine tasting.

We have booked three nights of lodging at the Southern Sun Rosebank for conference participants attending from out of town. Additionally, we are providing transportation between the hotel and the conference site.

# **Agenda**

**Participants Arrive in Johannesburg South Africa** June 18-19, 2024

Wednesday, June 19

# **Keynote Dinner**

June 19, 6:00-9:00pm GMT+2

Location: 54 on Bath

54 Bath Ave, Rosebank Johannesburg, South Africa

Dress Code: Business Casual

A conversation with Trevor Manuel, a former Minister in the South African government, anti-Apartheid activist, and former member of the African National Congress National Executive Committee. More recently, Mr. Manuel served as a Special Envoy to Mobilise International Economic Support for the Continental Fight Against COVID-19 for the African Union. Mr. Manuel will share his perspective on South Africa's leadership in the global economy, the Finance Track of South Africa's upcoming G20 presidency, and South Africa's evolving political landscape. He will draw on his experiences in government and working with multilateral institutions to discuss challenges and priorities of economic governance at the national, regional, and global levels.

## **Speakers**

• Trevor Manuel, Former Minister of Finance, Minister of Trade and Industry, and Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission of South Africa, and Chairperson of Old Mutual Emerging Markets

Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs

#### Thursday, June 20

# Session 1: Africa: New Economic Paradigms

Thursday, June 20, 9:00-10:30 AM GMT+2

How is the debate over the neoliberal model, the Washington Consensus, and the structural adjustment policies that resulted from these paradigms across Africa unfolding today? What notable successes, failures, opportunities, and impediments have alternative approaches to political economy encountered in the region? To what degree are countries/regions in Africa seeking to renegotiate or recast the terms of their integration into the world economy? How successful have these national/regional experiments been?

## Suggested Readings:

- Sanusi, Sanusi L, "Neither the Washington Consensus nor Beijing Consensus: <u>Developmental Models to fit African Realities and Cultures</u>," Eirenicon Africa Public Lectures Series.
- Archibong, Belinda, Brahima Coulibaly, Ngozi Okongo-Iweala, "<u>Washington</u>
   <u>Consensus Reforms and Economic Performance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons</u>
   <u>from the Past Four Decades</u>," African Economic History Network.
- o Chirimambowa, Tamuka Charles, "<u>Rethinking Development Policy Paradigms</u>," Good Governance Africa.
- o Horner, Rory, "<u>Towards a new paradigm of global development?</u> Beyond the <u>limits of international development</u>," Progress in Human Geography.

# Speakers

 Carlos Lopes, Chair of the Africa Climate Foundation (joining via video link)

Moderator: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs

#### Coffee Break

Thursday, June 20, 10:30-10:45 AM GMT+2

# Session 2: Managing Climate Change and the Energy Transition

Thursday, June 20 10:45-12:15 PM GMT+2

Faced with a growing climate emergency, the world is embarking on what will be a long and winding road towards a post-carbon global economy. What dilemmas and demands, as well as opportunities, will the clean energy transition pose for African countries? How can the global climate agenda—and the need to address devastating climate impacts—be best reconciled with the continent's development needs, including its need to industrialize and to ensure a just energy transition? How can national governments and international cooperation help to ensure that the benefits from the extraction of critical minerals from the continent are equitably distributed, including within African societies?

# Suggested Readings:

- Summary of the African Leaders Nairobi Declaration on Climate Change and Call to Action
- o Dalabajan et. al., "<u>Towards a Just Energy Transistion: Implications for</u> communities in lower- and middle- income countries," OXFAM.
- o "Webinar #1: Climate Finance" from <u>COP27 and Beyond</u>, Egyptian Center for Economic Studies.

# Speaker

- Amadou Hott, Special Envoy of the President of the African Development Bank for the Alliance for Green Infrastructure in Africa (joining via video link)
- Abla Abdel Latif, Executive Director and Director of Research for the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies

Moderator: Alex Benkenstein, Head of the Climate and Natural Resources Programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs

# Participant Lunch

Thursday, June 20, 12:15-1:45 PM GMT+2

# Session 3: Combatting Illicit Financial Flows

Thursday, June 20, 1:45-3:00 PM GMT+2

Illicit financial flows (IFF) remain a significant impediment to the economic stability of both individual countries and the broader global economic system and can be particularly harmful to the economic development of low-income countries. This is especially true in Africa, which is victim to massive illicit flows, including proceeds from bribery, corruption, tax evasion, money laundering, and illegal smuggling and

trafficking in drugs, minerals, people, wildlife, and other commodities. Combating IFF necessarily requires multilateral cooperation. What international policies and structures are necessary to combat such flows? How might existing multilateral arrangements, such as frameworks to combat transnational organized crime and corruption or to increase transparency of public and private involvement in extractive industries be strengthened? Is better cooperation on taxation part of the solution?

# Suggested Readings:

- o Nicolaou-Manias, Kathy and Joelle Traore, Ch. 1-4 (pg. 7-52) in "Study on Tax Motivated Illicit Financial Flows," European Commission.
- o Shifa, Muna, "The Missing 27 Billion," Africa is a Country.

# Speakers

 Nara Monkam, Chair in Municipal Finance at the African Tax Institute and Associate Professor of Public Economics at the University of Pretoria

Moderator: Kathy Nicolaou-Manias, Management consultant and technical advisor on illicit financial flows

#### Coffee Break

Thursday, June 20, 3:00-3:15 PM GMT+2

# Session 4: Managing Migration in the Global Economy

Thursday, June 20, 3:15-4:30 PM GMT+2

Climate change, armed violence, population growth, and dwindling economic opportunity are contributing to unprecedented flows of migrants, as well as of refugees and internally displaced persons, in many parts of the world. African countries, in particular, have emerged as major source, transit, and (in some cases like South Africa) destination countries for migrants. In much of the wealthy world, by contrast, declining birth rates are setting the stage for demographic decline, economic stagnation, and fiscal crisis—and yet in-migration remains a politically volatile topic. How should the global migration system be updated to meet the needs of migrants and nations today? How might international cooperation better facilitate migration in a way that minimizes political frictions and social unrest?

## Suggested Readings:

 Achieng, Maureen and Amira el Fadil, "What is Wrong with the Narrative on African Migration," (pg. 1-14) in <u>Africa Migration Report: Challenging the</u>

- *Narrative*, The International Organization for Migration and the African Union Commission.
- o Dini, Sabine, Shoshana Fine and Antoine Pecoud, "International organizations and migration governance" in *Handbook of Migration and Globalisation* Second Edition.
- De Haas, Hein. "<u>Changing the Migration Narrative: On the Power of Discourse, Propaganda and Truth Distortion.</u>" International Migration Institute Working Paper 181.

# Speaker

- Ibrahima Kane, Special Advisor to the Executive Director of the Open Society Foundation – Africa
- Alan Hirsch, Research Fellow and Leader of the Migration Governance Reform Program at the New South Institute

Moderator: Idayat Hassan, Former Director at the Centre for Democracy and Development and Non-resident Scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies

#### Coffee Break

Thursday, June 20, 4:30-4:45 PM GMT+2

# Session 5: The Digital Usage Gap and Global Inequality

Thursday, June 20, 4:45-6:00 PM GMT+2

In today's digitized world, access to technology, particularly access to the internet, is essential to economic production, but 3.2 billion people remain unable to access the internet. Any effort to build a more inclusive global economy, then, requires addressing the "usage gap." Despite this imperative, technology often remains sidelined in conversations on how global economic institutions could better address economic inequality, and conversations on global technology policy remain focused on the concerns and needs of the wealthy world. How effective are efforts currently led by global institutions, and initiatives such as the Global Digital Compact, in addressing the "usage gap"? What untapped potential is there for global economic institutions to close this gap, and use technology as a poverty alleviation tool?

#### Suggested Readings:

o Signe, Landry, "Fixing the global digital divide and digital access gap," Brookings.

- Poetranto, Irene, <u>"The UN Global Digital Compact Must be Multistakeholder and Inclusive"</u> in "New Digital Dilemmas: Resisting Autocrats, Navigating Geopolitics, Confronting Platforms," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- o Sambuli, Nanjira, "<u>Five Challenges with Multistakeholder Initiatives on AI</u>," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs.
- o Woodhouse, Teddy, "<u>Advancing Meaningful Connectivity</u> Towards Active and Participatory Digital Societies," Alliance for Affordable Internet.

# Speaker

Shikoh Gitau, Founder and Chief Executive of Qhala

Moderator: Nanjira Sambuli, Fellow in the Technology and International Affairs Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

# Participant Dinner- Clico Boutique Hotel

**Date:** Thursday, June 20, 2024

Time: 7:00 p.m. GMT+2
Location: Clico Boutique Hotel

27 Sturdee Ave, Rosebank Johannesburg, South Africa

**Dress Code:** Business Casual

#### Friday, June 21

# Session 6: An African Agenda for Global Economic Reform?

Friday, June 21, 9:00-10:15 AM GMT+2

What priorities are emerging from Africa for the reform of global economic governance? Is there a coherent agenda, or are countries or regions divided on the desirable directions of reform? What unique perspectives do African leaders offer to the ongoing conversation on reform of the global economic order, including recent initiatives to alter the mandates, governance structures, and funding of the Bretton Woods Institutions? How might Africa increase its influence over the future of the global trading system, including the WTO?

## Suggested Readings:

- "Priorities for an Equitable Reform of the Global Financial System- Unlocking Climate Investment and Sustainable Development in Africa." Africa Climate Foundation.
- Usman, Zainab and Ebelechukwu Monye, Aline Abayo, Andrew Danik. "An African Agenda for World Bank Group Reform." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- o "Marrakech Framework: An African Agenda for Global Financial Architecture." African Center for Economic Transformation.

# Speaker

 Emmanuel Owusu Sekyere, Director of Research, Policy and Programs at the African Center for Economic Transformation

Moderator: Cobus van Staden, Managing Editor of the China Global South Project

#### Coffee Break

Friday, June 21, 10:15-10:30 AM GMT+2

# Session 7: The Global Economic Order Beyond Western Hegemony

Friday, June 21, 10:30-11:45 AM GMT+2

The resurgence of the phrase "Global South" signals a renewed developing-country advocacy against an unequal, Western-led global political and economic order. A variety of initiatives have been put on the table to reduce the power of Western countries in

global economic governance, including to shrink Western influence in international financial institutions; reduce dependency on the dollar and the euro; and change global trade rules to ensure access to critical technologies like vaccines and clean energy for low-income countries, empower raw materials and agriculture producers, and reduce the power of multi-national corporations vis-à-vis host countries. What are the prospects for realignment?

# Suggested Readings:

- o Hogan, Erica and Stewart Patrick, "<u>A Closer Look at the Global South,</u>" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Sidiropoulos, Elizabeth and Gustavo de Carvalho, "<u>The Global South and the Resurgence of Non-alignment: An African Perspective</u>," in *Is Africa Turning Against the West?*, pg. 27-43.

## Speakers

- Paulo Esteves, Professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and Director of the BRICS Policy Center (joining via video link)
- David Monyae, Professor at the University of Johannesburg and Director of the Centre for Africa-China Studies

Moderator: Stewart Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director of the Global Order and Institutions Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

## Closing Reflections and Next Steps

Friday, June 21, 11:45-12:00 PM GMT+2

Speaker: Stewart Patrick, Director, Global Order and Institutions Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### **Optional Lunch**

**Date:** Friday, June 21, 2024 **Time:** 12:00-1:00PM GMT+2

**Location:** South African Institute of International Affairs

Jan Smuts House, Wits University Johannesburg, 2017, South Africa

# **Optional Wine and Chocolate Tasting**

Date: Friday, June 21, 2024

**Time:** 3:00-5:00PM GMT+2

**Location:** Eighteen13 Wine Shop and Tasting Room

Cedar Square Centre

Willow Avenue, Fourways,

Johannesburg, 2068, South Africa

Dress Code: Casual

# **List of Participants**

#### **Abla Abdel Latif**

Executive Director

Egyptian Center for Economic

Studies

#### Ola Bello

Executive Director

Good Governance Africa

#### **Alex Benkenstein**

Head, Climate and Natural Resources Programme South African Institue of International Affairs

#### Gloria Bob-Millar

Research Scholar
University of Development Studies,
Tamale-Ghana

#### **Daniel Bradlow**

Professor University of Pretoria

#### **Hinh Dinh**

Senior Fellow Policy Center for the New South

#### **Ovigwe Eguegu**

Policy Analyst

Development Reimagined

#### **Paulo Esteves**

Associate Professor Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro

#### Shikoh Gitau

Founder and Chief Executive Officer *Qhala* 

#### **Jonathan Glennie**

Co-Founder Global Nation

#### **Idayat Hassan**

Former Director Centre for Democracy and Development

## Alfredo Tjiurimo Hengari

Presidential Press Secretary Government of Namibia

#### **Alan Hirsh**

Research Fellow and Leader of the Migration Reform Programme New South Institute

# **Amadou Hott**

Special Envoy of the President African Development Bank

#### Ibrahima Kane

Special Adviser Open Society Foundation - Africa

#### Ntumba Katabua

Head of State-Owned Enterprises Agence Française de Développement

## Wanjiru Kenyiiha

Network Coordinator Global Public Investment Network

#### **Damien King**

Executive Director Caribbean Policy Research Institute

## **Ian Klaus**

Founding Director, Carnegie
California
Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace

# **Carlos Lopes**

Chair Africa Climate Foundation

# Kingsley Makhubela

Director RiskRecon

## Moeletsi Mbeki

Deputy Chairman South African Institute for International Affairs

#### **David McNair**

Executive Director *ONE.org* 

#### Nara Monkam

Associate Professor University of Pretoria

#### **David Monyae**

Associate Professor University of Johannesburg

#### **Eliud Moyi**

Deputy Director Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis

#### **Kathy Nicolaou-Manias**

Management Consultant

Abacus Advisory/Argent Econ

## Chukwuka Onyekwena

Executive Director Centre for the Studies of the Economies of Africa

## **Emmanuel Owusu-Sekyere**

Director of Research, Policy and Programs African Centre for Economic Transformation

#### **Stewart Patrick**

Director of Global Order and Institutions Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### **Ann Pettifor**

Director
Policy Research in Macroeconomics
(PRIME)

#### Mthembu Philani

Executive Director Institute for Global Dialogue

# **Prega Ramsamy**

Head Economic Development Board of Mauritius in South Africa

## Nanjira Sambuli

Fellow, Technology and International Affairs Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### **Daouda Sembene**

CEO Africatalyst

## **Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

Chief Executive South African Institute of International Affairs

# Mills Soko

Professor and Director of Development and Partnerships Wits Business School

# **Cobus Van Staden**

Managing Editor China Global South Project